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# AN INVENTORY OF ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL *POLEIS*

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# MAKEDONIA

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## I. The Region

The name of the region is *Μακεδονία*, -η (Hdt. 5.17.1; Thuc. 1.58.1; Hatzopoulos (1996b) ii. no. 1.B9). It is derived from the ethnic *Μακεδών* (Hdt. 5.18.2; Thuc. 1.57.2; IG I<sup>3</sup> 89.26), in the Thessalian dialect *Μακετούν* (SEG 27 202.10); the feminine form is normally *Μακέτα* (IG II<sup>2</sup> 9258 (C3)). As Makedonia is simply the land of the *Makedones*, its extent followed Makedonian expansion. By the time of Alexander's accession, it ranged from the foothills of the Pierian mountains to the whole region between Mt. Pindos and the Strymon valley, and between the Peneios and roughly the present Greek frontier. To the south Makedonia bordered on Thessaly. Its southernmost cities were, from east to west, Herakleion and Balla in Pieria, Aiane in Elemia, Aiginion in Tymphaia. To the west it bordered on Epeiros, and its westernmost city was Argos Orestikon in Orestis. To the north-west it bordered on Illyria, and its north-westernmost city was Herakleia in Lynkos. To the north of Makedonia lay Paionia (including Pelagonia). The northernmost Makedonian cities, from west to east, were Styberra in Derriopos, Idomene in Parorbelia, and Herakleia in Sintike. To the east Makedonia bordered on Thrace and, until the annexation of the plain of Philippoi in late Hellenistic times, its easternmost cities, from north to south, were Serrhai in Odомantike, the Bisaltic Pentapolis, and Amphipolis in Edonis. In Roman times, Makedonia reached the Nestos valley in the east and encompassed Pelagonia and Paionia as far north as Mt. Golesniča.

The Makedonian expansion was a gradual process, but the strongest impetus both to conquest and to colonisation was given by Philip II (360–336), who also systematically divided Makedonia into self-governing cities, each with its civic territory, and into administrative districts (see Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 167–260). For practical reasons, the “greater Makedonia” of the reign of Philip II and his Temenid and Antigonid successors has been subdivided into (a) a western part comprising the Old Kingdom, cradle of

the Makedonian power, and Upper Makedonia—that is to say all Makedonian territories west of the Axios—and (b) an eastern part consisting of the new territories between the Axios and the plain of Philippoi, which were incorporated into Makedonia proper by Philip II and his successors. The former areas had been almost entirely settled by Makedonians (who had subjected and mostly driven out or exterminated the indigenous populations), at least since the end of the Archaic period, whereas the latter were colonised in later times, and their former inhabitants had in most cases been permitted to remain in their old homes. Both of these parts, however, were integrated into a unified state, the citizens of which shared the same *politeia* and formed *τὴν . . . χώραν τὴν Μακεδόνων* (SEG 12 374.6), Makedonia proper, as opposed to the external possessions of the Makedonian kings south of the Peneios, Mt. Olympos and the Kambounian mountains, west of Mt. Pindos and Lake Lychnitis, north of the present Greek frontier and east of the Strymon valley. The “greater Makedonia” created by Philip II was subdivided into four administrative districts called *ethne* in our sources: from west to east, Upper Makedonia (between Mt. Pindos and Mt. Bermion), Bottia (between Mt. Bermion and the Axios), Amphaxitis (between the Axios and modern Mt. Bertiskos) and Paroreia and Parastrymonia, also known as the First Meris (between Mt. Bertiskos and the plain of Philippoi). Within these large administrative districts subsisted older regional names, often derived from the *ethnika* of their actual or former inhabitants: Elemia, Orestis, Tymphaia-Parauaia, Lynkos, Derriopos in Upper Makedonia; Pieria, Bottia (or Emathia), Almopia in the administrative district of Bottia; Mygdonia, Krestonia, Parorbelia, Bottike, Chalkidike, Anthemous, Krousis in Amphaxitis; Sintike, Odомantike, Bisaltia, Edonis, Pieris in the First Meris. Eordaia, although geographically part of Upper Makedonia, was considered from the political point of view as being part of Bottia since it had always belonged to the Temenid kingdom.



The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally for the first time in the C51 treaty between Perdikkas II and Athens (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 89.26) and internally in the C41 list of priests of Asklepios from Kalindoia (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 62.6) and in the dedication of Kassandros from Dion, also C41 (*ibid.* no. 23). For the oldest individual and external use, see, perhaps, *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 422.1.79–80 (414/13) (a slave) and *SEG* 34 355.4–6 (365). As expected, we find no individual and internal use, since for a Makedonian within Makedonia the ethnic *Μακεδών* would normally be superfluous.

The region Makedonia is described by the term *χώρα -η* (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 1.A6 (C4e, restored) and 58.6 (243). If not from C51 (Thuc. 2.99.6, implicitly), from C4f onwards the term *ἔθνος* is used for the people (Ps.-Skylax 66).

Makedonia attracted the interest of city-state writers and developed an indigenous literary tradition only from the reign of Philip II onwards, when it became the dominant power in Greek politics. For this reason, evidence about Makedonian cities is relatively late, although by then urban settlements already had a long history in the area. Thus, many cities attested for the first time in the Hellenistic period most probably existed in the previous period too. Since the rules set down for the present project stipulate that only cities attested as such in the Archaic and Classical periods should be included in the Inventory, cities first appearing in Hellenistic times have been separated from the rest and are listed below along with other doubtful cases. On the other hand, toponyms which have been erroneously regarded as denoting cities by ancient authors or modern scholars have been entirely omitted; the same applies to settlements (mostly villages) first attested in Roman times, or which are mere lexicographical entries without indication of their—even approximate—location and/or date, although many of them, as their dialectal forms show, surely existed in earlier periods.

A special problem arises from urban settlements in Upper Makedonia, particularly Aiane in Elemia, Bokeria in Eordaia, and Herakleia in Lynkos, which are sometimes actually described, *expressis verbis*, as *poleis*. From the administrative point of view, however, the equivalent of the Lower Makedonian *poleis* was not the urban settlement but each of the Upper Makedonian *ethne* such as the Orestai or the Elemiotai, comprising both cities and villages. After some hesitation, I have decided to include Aiane, for which there is enough evidence to allow it to qualify as a *polis* type C, but to exclude Bokeria and Herakleia from the Inventory itself and instead to list them with the other non-*polis* settlements.

Finally, I have decided not to consider unidentified ancient settlements. Makedonia is a vast country which has not been surveyed methodically. We know of many *trapezai*, which are a certain sign of a settlement in historical times. However, the absence of systematic investigation does not allow us to date these settlements precisely, even less to determine their status. A random inclusion of such cases would only contribute to creating an inexact image of the settlement pattern without enhancing our understanding of the *polis* phenomenon in Makedonia.

In Makedonia west of the Axios I have counted forty-two settlements attested either in Archaic and Classical or in Hellenistic times but which can most probably be dated to earlier periods: Agassai, *Aiane*, *Aigeai*, Aiginion in Pieria, Aiginion in Tymphaia, *Alebaia*, Alkomena, *Allante*, *Aloros*, Argos Orestikon, Arnisa, Balla, *Beroia*, Bokeria, Bryanion, *Dion*, *Edessa*, Euia, *Europos*, Gaimeion, Galadrai, Genderrhos, Gortynia, Greia, Herakleia Lynkou, *Herakleion*, *Ichnai*, Keletron, *Kyrrhos*, *Leibethra*, Marinia, *Methone*, *Miezo*, Nea[---], *Pella*, Petra, Phylakai, Pimpleia, *Pydna*, Skydra, Styberra and Tyrissa. Of these, five almost certainly (Gaimeion, Genderrhos, Greia, Nea[---] and Pimpleia) and one most probably (Arnisa) did not enjoy *polis* status. Of the remaining thirty-six, only seventeen (those in italics) can be positively dated to the pre-Hellenistic period and qualify certainly (type A), probably (type B), or possibly (type C) as *poleis* and are described in the Inventory below. Two (Bokeria and Herakleia) were, probably, the principal town in a whole region. The remaining seventeen settlements, which are first attested in the Hellenistic period, along with the six villages mentioned above, are listed here in alphabetical order. The principal towns in Eordaia (Bokeria) and Lynkos (Herakleia) have been given a somewhat fuller treatment than the others.

## 1. Pre-Hellenistic Settlements not Attested as Poleis

\***Agassai** (*Agassae*, Ἀγεσσαι?) Livy 44.7.5, 45.27.1 (*urbs*); Steph. Byz. 59.3 (πόλις); *ethnikon*: Ἀγεσσαιος or Ἀγεσίτης? (Steph. Byz. 59.3); unlocated settlement, somewhere in Pieria (Papazoglou (1988) 118–19; Hammond (1972) 139 n. 1; Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) 109–10 n. 8). *Barr.* 50, H.

\***Aiginion** (*Aeginium*) Livy 44.46.3 (*oppidum*) and 45.27.1–3 (*urbs*); Plin. *HN* 4.33; unidentified location, somewhere in Pieria (Papazoglou (1988) 119–20). *Barr.* 50, R.

**Aiginion** (Αἰγίνιον) Livy 32.15.4, 36.13.6; Strabo 7.7.9; *Gonnoi* no. 35B.6 (δῆμος (C2m)); cf. IG IX.2 324 (πόλις), 329 (πόλις (c.AD 200, when it was no longer part of Makedonia, but belonged to Thessaly)). Capital of Tymphaia-Parauaia. *Gonnoi* pp. 35–36. *Barr.* 54, H.

**Alkomena** (Ἀλκομενά) Strabo 7.7.9 (πόλις); Steph. Byz. 75.15 (πόλις); IG x.2.2 348 (κώμη (AD 192/3)); *ethnikon*: Ἀλκομενεύς (Arr. *Ind.* 18.6); Ἀλκομεναῖος (IG x.2.2 348). At Bučin near Bela Cerква in Derriopos. Papazoglou (1988) 302–3; Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 85–87, 411–16). Alkomena was apparently one of the urban centres of Derriopos, which as a whole constituted a political entity (cf. SEG 46 807: ἐν Δερριόπῳ... βουλευτήριον). *Barr.* 49, HR.

**Argos Orestikon** (Ἄργος Ὀρεστικόν) Strabo 7.7.8 (πόλις); App. *Syr.* 63; Steph. Byz. 113.1 (πόλις); *ethnikon*: Ἀργεσταῖος (Livy 27.33.1 (*Argestaeum campum*)). Most probably at modern Argos Orestikon (Papazoglou (1988) 236–38). *Barr.* 49, RL.

**Arnisa** (Ἄρνισα) Thuc. 4.128.3. At Vegora or, less probably, at Petrai/Gradista, in Eordaia (Papazoglou (1988) 161–64; Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 94, n. 4). *Barr.* 49, C.

**Balla** (Βάλλα) Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) fr. 3; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.37 (cf. 17: πόλις); Steph. Byz. 157.11 (πόλις); *ethnikon*: Βαλλαῖος (Theagenes); *Vallaeus* (Plin. *HN* 4.34). Possibly at Palaioigratsianon in Pieria (Papazoglou (1988) 120–22; Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 109–10 and (2003)). Undated and unlocated in *Barr.* 50.

**Bokeria** (Βοκερία) *EAM* 109 (C4/C3, stadium stone); *ethnikon*: Βοκέρριος (AG 9.149; Papazoglou (1988) 164–66 and J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1971) no. 392 mistakenly write Βοκκέρριος) or Βοκερραῖος (*Bocerraeus*, in an unpublished boundary stone of the Roman period; cf. *BE* (1997) 364). At Pharangi in Eordaia (cf. Petsas (1966–67) 351, no. 245; Mackay (1976)); probable remnants of a circuit wall (Hammond and Hatzopoulos (1982) 143). Bokeria was the principal urban centre of the *ethnos* of the Eordaioi, who as a whole constituted a political unit equivalent to the *poleis* of coastal Makedonia (cf. the βουλή Ἐορ[δαίων] of the Roman period in SEG 48 800). *Barr.* 50, HR.

**Bryanion** (Βρυνάνιον) Livy 31.39.5; Strabo 7.7.9 (πόλις). Unidentified location in Derriopos (Papazoglou (1988) 303). *Barr.* 49 (Graište?), CHR.

**Euia, Euboia** (Εὔια, Εὐβοία) Diod. 19.11.2; Strabo 10.1.15 (πόλις); Steph. Byz. 284.2 (πόλις); *ethnikon*: Εὐιέστης (*EAM* 87 (181–180); Livy 42.51.4); cf. the Εὐιαστική πύλη in

Beroia (*I.Beroia* 41). At Polymylos in Elemia or Eordaia (*I.Beroia* 41 with comm.; Karamitrou-Mentesidi and Vatali (1997)). *Barr.* 50 (Euboia at Sevastiana?), L.

**Gaimeion** (Γαίμειον) SEG 24 524.B21, 35 (C3). Unidentified location, probably in Bottia (Papazoglou (1988) 150). Not in *Barr.*

**Galadrai** (Γαλάδρα, Γαλάδραι) Lycoph. *Alex.* 1444; Polyb. book 13, *apud* Steph. Byz. 196.5 (πόλις); *ethnikon*: Γαλαδραῖος (Lycoph. *Alex.* 1342). Unidentified location in Pieria (Papazoglou (1988) 120). Undated in *Barr.* 50.

**Genderrhos** (Γένδερρος) Vavritsas (1977) 10 (κώμη) (C3); *ethnikon*: Γενδερραῖος (ibid.), Γενδέρριος (SEG 27 258, *app. crit.*). Unidentified location near Kyrrhos in Bottia, possibly at Mandalon (Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 112). *Barr.* 50 tentatively puts it at Mylotopos (following Papazoglou (1988) 154) but indicates no date.

**Gortynia** (Γορτυνία) Thuc. 2.100.3; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (πόλις); Plin. *HN* 4.34; Strabo 7 fr. 4 (πόλις); Steph. Byz. 212.1. Perhaps located at Vardarski Rid, near Gevgelija, where recent excavations have revealed several building phases of a walled settlement; most important are the C6–C5e and the C5m–C4 phases, the latter with remains of a monumental public building (Mitrevski (1996)). Papazoglou (1988) 181–82. *Barr.* 50, CHRL.

**Greia** (Γρήια) *EAM* 87 (181–180). *Kome* of Eordaia or Elemia (Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 96–102). Undated in *Barr.* 50.

**Herakleia** (Ἡράκλεια) Polyb. 34.12.7 (διὰ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Λυγκηστῶν); *IGBulg* 1 13.35 (ἐπὶ τοῦ Λύκου); SEG 15 380 (πρὸς Λύγγον); perhaps one of the *poleis* mentioned by Demosthenes at 4.48; IG x.2.2 53 (*polis* (second century AD)); IG x.2.2 73 (*polis* (second century AD)); *ethnikon*: Ἡρακλεώτης (SEG 15 380; IG x.2.2 74). Near Bitola in Lynkestis. Not Herakleia alone, but the *ethnos* of the *Lynkestai* as a whole constituted a political unit equivalent to the *poleis* of Lower Makedonia. For the evidence from the Roman period, see Papazoglou (1988) 259–68, Mikulčić (1974) 199–202, Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1985) 14–22 and IG x.2.2 pp. 29–74. *Barr.* 49, CHRL.

**\*Keletron** (*Celetrum*) Livy 31.40.1 (r199) (*oppidum*). At Kastoria in Orestis (Papazoglou (1988) 238). *Barr.* 49, HRL.

**\*Marinia** (Μαρινιαῖος) SEG 24 524 (C3). At Marina in Bottia (Petsas (1961) 49–55). Not in *Barr.*

**Nea[---]** (Νέα[---]) SEG 24 524 (C3). Unknown location in Bottia, probably a *kome* of Mieza. Not in *Barr.*

\***Petra** (*Petra*) Livy 39.26.1, 44.32.9, 45.41.4. At modern Petra in Pieria. (Papazoglou (1988) 116–17). *Barr.* 50, HRL.

**Phylakai** (*Φυλακαί*) Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.37 (cf. 17: *πόλις*); *ethnikon*: *Φυλακαῖος* (*I.Beroia* 140 (C3/C2)), *Phylacaeus* (Plin. *HN* 4.34). Possibly at Moschopotamos, in Pieria (Papazoglou (1988) 120; Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 109–10). Undated and unlocated in *Barr.* 50.

**Pimpleia** (*Πίμπλεια*) Callim. *Hymn* 4.7; Posidippus 118; Strabo 7 frf. 17 and 18 (*κώμη* of Dion). Possibly at Ag. Paraskevi near Litochoron, in Pieria (Schmidt (1950); Papazoglou (1988) 112). *Barr.* 50, HRL.

**Skydra** (*Σκύδρα*) Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) fr. 13 *apud* Steph. Byz. 578.8 (*πόλις*); Plin. *HN* 4.34 (*civitas*); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (cf. 17: *πόλις*); *SEG* 24 530 (third century AD); *ethnikon*: *Σκυδραῖος* (*SEG* 24 524 (C3)). At Arseni in Bottia (Petsas (1961) 44–48). *Barr.* 50 (Loutrochoroi?), HRL.

**Styberra** (*Στύβερρα*) Polyb. 28.8.8; Strabo 7.7.9 (*πόλις*); Livy 31.39.4; *IG* x.2.2 323–28, 330 (*πόλις*) (all from the Imperial period); *ethnikon*: *Στυβεραῖος* (*IGBulg* v 5003 (C2/C1)). At Čepigovo in Derriopos (Papazoglou (1988) 298–302). *Barr.* 49, HRL.

**Tyrrisa** (*Τύρισσα*) Plin. *HN* 4.34 (*Tyrrisaei*); Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (cf. 17: *πόλις*). Most probably at Pentaplanos in Pieria. If the five *tagoi* recorded in a C2e deed of sale found at Asvestario, 6 km to the north of Pentaplanos (*SEG* 47 999) are the supreme magistrates of Tyrrisa and not of Pella, Tyrrisa was a *polis* in the Hellenistic period (Papazoglou (1988) 158–59; P. Chrysostomou (1997); *BE* (1999) 349). Not in *Barr.*

Of the twenty-five settlements listed above, three (Alebaia, Genderrhos, Pimpleia) are described *expressis verbis* in our sources as *komai*. In any case, all settlements in Upper Makedonia (including Eordaia), even when these are called *poleis*, did not enjoy the full prerogatives of the cities of Lower Makedonia, for these were reserved for the territorial units called *ethne* in our sources, which included both cities and villages, called *politeiai* in our sources of the Roman period. Examples of other such Upper Makedonian settlements are Aiginion in Tymphaia, Alkomena, Bryanion and Styberra in Derriopos, Argos Orestikon and Keletron in Orestis, Euia and Greia in Elemia or Eordaia. Of the remaining nine, Agassai and Aiginion are called *urbes* in Hellenistic times, and Tyrrisa seems to have had its own magistrates in the same period. They most probably had inherited this status from the previous period. The same is true of Balla,

mentioned by the C3 writer Theagenes referring to an event that probably took place in the reign of Philip II. Galadrai is mentioned by Lykophron in the early Hellenistic period. Its presence in the work of Polybios guarantees that it was not a mythological invention. Its existence in Classical times is possible and even probable. We should have even fewer doubts concerning Marinia and Skydra, the *ethnika* of which figure in a C3 register of sales. Phylakai, too, the *ethnikon* of which appears in an Early Hellenistic agonistic catalogue, was most probably a city in the previous period. Such favourable indications are lacking in the case of Gaimeion and Nea[---], probably a small place, and also of Petra, the site of which can hardly “contain more than thirty little houses” (Heuzey (1860) 147). To conclude, at least eight more *poleis* (Agassai, Aiginion, Balla, Galadrai, Marinia, Skydra, Phylakai and Tyrrisa) should probably be added to the seventeen listed in the following Inventory.

## II. The *Poleis*

**528. Aiane** (Aianaios?) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.10, long. 21.50. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is *Αἰανή*, ἡ (*EAM* 47; Steph. Byz. 37.7; later spelt *Ἐανή* (*EAM* 15)); possibly *Aeane* in Livy 43.21.5 (Megas (1976)). The city-ethnic *Αἰαναῖος* is given by Steph. Byz. 37.9.

Aiane is called a *polis* in the political sense in *EAM* 15, which dates from the second century AD. The ethnic is attested only by Steph. Byz., but there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.

Although Aiane, as the recent excavations at Megale Rachi have shown, was the capital of the kings of Elemia from Archaic times, it is not mentioned in the surviving historical works with the possible exception of Livy 43.21.5 in connection with the first military operations of the Third Makedonian War (Megas (1976)).

The three monumental buildings discovered on the top and on the slopes of the acropolis, one of which is certainly a portico belonging to an agora complex, as well as the urban planning of the residential area, show that Aiane had the external aspect of a *polis* from C6l, to which the oldest of these buildings belong (Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1993), (1994), (1996a) 16–32, (1996b) 25–29). The power of the Elemiote kings, which in the C4e equalled that of the Temenids of Lower Makedonia, goes a long way to explain the early promotion of their residence to a full-blown city comparable to Aigaei. After the annexation of Upper

Makedonia to the Temenid kingdom and its reorganisation by Philip II, Aiiane remained the capital of Elemia, although from the administrative point of view not Aiiane alone but the whole of Elemia with its other towns and villages constituted a political unit equal to the *poleis* of Lower Makedonia (Hatzopoulos (1996b) ii. 89–91).

At Aiiane probably were struck the bronze coins of King Derdas in the C4e. Types: *obv.* galloping horseman, or youthful Apollo, or youthful Herakles; *rev.* club and spear-head, or galloping horseman; legend: ΔΕΡΔΑ, ΔΕΡΔΑΙΟΝ (Liampi (1998)).

**529. Aigeai (Aigaios)** Map 50. Lat. 40.30, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 2. Type: A. The toponym is Αἰγαί, αἰ (IG iv 617.15) or Αἰγέαι (Diod. 16.92.1) or Αἰγαῖαι (Diyillos (FGrHist 73) fr. 1) or Αἰγαῖαι (Diod. 19.52.5; *I.Leukopetra* 103) or Αἰγαί (Diod. 16.3.5) or Αἰγείαι (Theophr. fr. 5.27; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 269L) or Αἰγαία (Ptol. Geog. 3.12.36). The city-ethnic is Αἰγαῖος (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.11; IG xii.8 206.12 (C1)), later spelled Ἐγέος (*I.Leukopetra* 73 (AD 229)). Aigeai is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Euphorion fr. 33, van Groningen (rC7) and Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.11 (r274). A combined description of the urban and political aspects of the community is found in the phrase ἀστὺ κτίζει πόλιν (where *asty* is Aigeai and the *polis* is the Makedonian state), referring to the foundation of Aigeai in C7 and attested in a Delphic oracle of c.500 (Diod. 7.16; for the date see Hatzopoulos (1996b) 464–65). The epithet *μηλοβότρυα* shows that the toponym was used for the territory as well as for the urban centre (Steph. Byz. 39.1; cf. Just. 7.1.10). The political sense is implicit in the designation of Makedonians as belonging to the citizen body of Aigeai (cf. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 269L and *I.Magnesia* 10.11–12: Αἰσχρίων Ἀμύντα Μακεδῶν ἐξ Αἰγέων (C3); for the date, see Gauthier, *Prakt* (1984) 98). The earliest attestation of the individual use of the city-ethnic occurs in IG xii.8 206.12 (C1), but in Plut. *Alex.* 41.9 a C4 Makedonian citizen is called *Ἐνρύλοχος Αἰγαῖος*.

The territory of Aigeai bordered on that of Beroia to the west and Aloros to the east. The marshes of the mouth of the Haliakmon formed its northern limit, and the heights of the Pierians its southern one. Thus it extended over c.12.5 km from the gorges of the Haliakmon to the river-bed of the Krasopoulis, and over c.5 km of arable territory between the mountain and the marshes (62.5 km<sup>2</sup>). The territory of Aigeai comprised several minor settlements, of which only one has been identified: Blaganoi (Hatzopoulos (1987a), (1990) 59–60). Although situated on the right bank of the Haliakmon, Aigeai did not belong to Pieria, but, just like

Aloros, to Bottia (Diod. 7.16) or Emathia (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36), as this region was called in later times (Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 239–47, (1996a)).

According to its foundation legend, Aigeai was originally a Phrygian (Brygian) city called Edessa, and the name Aigeai was first given to it by its Greek Makedonian conquerors (Euphorion fr. 33, van Groningen; Just. 7.1.10 (rC7)). From then on it was the Temenid capital, and it remained a part-time royal residence even after the transfer of the usual residence to Pella under King Amyntas III (Hatzopoulos (1987b)); in particular, it retained its character of royal cemetery at least until the end of the Temenid dynasty.

Citizens of Aigeai are known to have been *proxenoi* of several cities: Delphi (no. 177) (Syll.<sup>3</sup> 269L (c.300 or 272)), Histiaia (no. 372) (IG xii.9 1187.30 (c.266)) and Magnesia on the Maiandros (no. 852), where the recipient also received citizenship (*I.Magnesia* 10 (C3)).

Aigeai does not appear in the list of the *theorodokoi* of Nemea (in 323), but its name can be safely restored on the Argive list of contributors (IG iv 617.15 (c.300)), which could be a reference to *theoroi* (cf. Perlman (2000) 74). Its main deities were Zeus (Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.1) and Herakles Patroos (Hatzopoulos (1996b) ii. no. 30). Eukleia (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1987), (1992)) and the Mother of the Gods (Drougou (1996)) were also popular.

Excavations at Vergina-Palatisia, begun by L. Heuzey in the middle of the nineteenth century and continued since by C. Romaïos, and by M. Andronicos and his students, have unearthed, besides the extensive cemetery (Kottaridi (2002)), two palaces, a theatre, an agora, several sanctuaries and other facilities. The great palace (104.5 × 88.5 m), built around a peristyle court, with porticoes on the north and east sides, an extended balcony beyond the north portico and a monumental gate on the east side, belongs to the C4s, but the smaller one, to the west, seems to be earlier and may be the very structure decorated by Zeuxis in C5l (Andronicos (1984) 38–46; Ginouvès (1993) 84–88; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2001)). The C4s theatre (TGR ii. 317) lay immediately to the north of the palace. Stone benches rose only to the second row (Drougou (1997)). The theatre is mentioned by Diodorus in his account of the murder of Philip in 336 (Diod. 16.92.5ff). The agora of the city lay to the north of the theatre; it comprised the C4m temple dedicated to Eukleia (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1996)). To the north-east of the palace a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods was discovered, the earliest building phase of which belongs to C4l (Drougou (1996)).

On the acropolis, south of the palace, which dominated the city, no major public buildings have been found (Phaklaris (1996) 70–74).

The C4l circuit wall roughly forms a triangle, with its apex to the south on the acropolis and its base on a line joining the two streams on either side of the acropolis hill probably to the south of the Rhomaïos tomb. It is a pseudo-isodomic structure of local stone with towers at irregular intervals. Monumental gates opened from the acropolis to the south, towards Pieria, to the north towards the city, and west of the theatre towards Upper Makedonia (Andronicos *et al.* (1983) 42–45, (1987) 146–48; Phaklaris (1996) 69–70).

According to legend, Aigeai was founded by the Temenid Perdikkas or Karanos or Archelaos, alone or with an army of Argive colonists in the C7m or C8e (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 3–14).

**530. Alebaia** Map 50. Unlocated (but see Hatzopoulos (2003) for a possible identification with Bravas). Type: A (rC7). The toponym is *Λεβαίη*, ἡ (Hdt. 8.137.1) *Ἀλ(α)ιβαῖοι* (sc. *τόποι*) (*I.Leukopetra* 12.4 (AD 171/2)), *Ἀλεβία* (κώμη: *I.Leukopetra* 106.14 (AD 253/4)). The city-ethnic is unattested but was presumably *Ἀλεβαῖος* (*I.Leukopetra* 12.4). Alebaia is called a *polis*, in the urban sense, exclusively in Hdt. 8.137.1, in the mythical context of the foundation of the Makedonian state by the Temenids. It is not clear whether Herodotos is considering (A)lebaia to be a *polis* in his own time or only in the C7, when the legend he narrates is dated. It is clear, however, that by the Roman period (A)lebaia was not an independent *polis* but a *kome* of Elemia, and it is probable that even earlier not (A)lebaia alone but the whole *ethnos* of the Elemiotai constituted a political unit equivalent to the *poleis* of Lower Makedonia.

**531. Allante** (Allantaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.45, long. 22.35. (Allante was most probably situated at Nea Chalkedon (Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1985) 56–61). Military action during the First World War and the construction of a modern settlement after 1922 have destroyed practically all ancient remains.) Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Ἀταλάντη*, ἡ (Thuc. 2.100.3) or *Ἀλλάντειον*, τό (Theopomp. fr. 33; BCH 45 (1921) 17 III.64 (230–220)) or *Ἀλάντη* (SEG 36 331B.21) or *Ἀλλάντη* (Steph. Byz. 76.1). The city-ethnic is [Ἀταλα]-vel [Ἀλλα]-νταῖος (IG IV 617.17 (C4l); Ἀλλανταῖος SEG 35 753.12 (c.AD 198)); Steph. Byz. 76.3 suggests Ἀλλάντιος; Pliny's *Allantenses* (HN 4.35) is not helpful. The only classification in literary sources of Allante as a *polis* is in Steph. Byz. 76.1. The only epigraphic attestation of a πόλις Ἀλλανταίων is on a c.AD 198 milestone from

Allante (SEG 35 753.12), where the term *polis* is used in the political sense. Allante is called a *chorion* in Thuc. 2.100.3. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested both internally (SEG 35 753.12) and externally (IG IV 617.17).

The territory of Allante bordered on that of Pella to the north-west, Ichnai to the north and Herakleia to the east, across the Axios; to the south it reached the ancient shoreline. Allante was probably a C5e Makedonian foundation designed to cut off the then Paionian city of Ichnai from the sea (Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 111).

Allantaian *theorodokoi* were appointed to host *theoroi* from Nemea (SEG 36 331B.21 (331/30–313)). If the ethnic is correctly restored in IG IV 617.17, Allante is recorded on the Argive list of contributors of C4l, which may be connected with the dispatching of *theoroi* (cf. Perlman (2000) 74).

**532. Aloros** (Alorites) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.35, long. 22.30. Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Ἀλωρος*, ἡ (Ps.-Skylax 66; Strabo 7 fr. 20), and the city-ethnic *Ἀλωρίτης* (Diod. 15.71.1). Aloros is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 66 (C4m). The individual use of the ethnic is attested externally in Diod. 15.71.1 (r368) and Arr. *Ind.* 18.6 (r320s).

The territory of Aloros bordered on that of Aigeai to the west and Methone to the south, while to the north it must have been delimited by the marshes of Lake Loudiake.

Traces of a circuit wall of poros blocks c.1 km long have been spotted (Hatzopoulos (1987b) 38). Excavations begun in 1988 (Apostolou (1998)) have revealed a C4 two-room building, probably a temple, with an adjoining Archaic structure, probably an altar (Apostolou (1991)).

**533. Beroia** (Beroiaios) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.30; long. 22.10. Size of territory: 4. Type: A. The toponym is *Βέροια*, ἡ (Thuc. 1.61.4), later spelled *Βέρροια* (App. Syr. 57 and late Roman sources). The city-ethnic is *Βεροιαῖος* (unpublished C4s inscription from the Perrhaibian *tripolis* Polyb. 28.8.2); *Βεροιέος* in *I.Leukopetra* 31.5; *Βαιροιαῖος* in *I.Leukopetra* 84.4–5 or *Βεροιεύς* (Polyb. 27.8.6); *Βερωαῖος* (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 196.22) is probably a mistake. Beroia is first attested as a *polis* in the political sense in a C4l dedication (*I.Beroia* 29 = Hatzopoulos (1996b) no. 73) and is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Ps.-Skymnos 626 (C2). The term *chorion* is used by Thuc. 1.61.4, and the term *polisma* by App. Syr. 57. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in an honorific inscription (*I.Beroia* 59 (C1)). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a consecration from the sanctuary of Leukopetra (*I.Leukopetra* 31.5 (AD 192/3)) and externally in an unpublished dedication from



the Perrhaibian Tripolis (cf. Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 156, n. 15 (C4s)) and in a C3f Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* (IG IV<sup>2</sup>.1 96.22).

The territory of Beroia bordered on that of Mieza to the north, Pella to the north-east, Aigeai to the south-east and on the regions of Eordaia to the north-west and Elemia to the south-west. Among the secondary settlements of the original territory of Beroia, we know the names of Kyneoi, Auranton, Kannonea and Droga (Hatzopoulos (1990)).

The constitution of Beroia, like the constitution of all the cities of Makedonia, had a pronounced aristocratic character. Not only slaves, but also freedmen, their sons, male prostitutes and craftsmen were excluded from civic life (Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) 78–87), and full enfranchisement probably was subject to a minimum census in landed property (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 209 n. 1). The chief executive official was the *epistates* (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) ii. no. 73), who—at least later—was assisted by a board of magistrates who may have been called *tagoi* (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 156).

The patron deity of Beroia was Herakles Kynagidas, who was revered as the ancestor of the royal family—not only of the Temenids, but also later of the Antigonids (Edson (1934) 226–32; Allamani-Souri (1993*b*); Hatzopoulos (1994*a*) 102–11). The cult of Asklepios was also important (Voutiras (1993) 257), and his priest was eponymous, as in all Makedonian cities (Hatzopoulos (1996*b*) i. 152–54). His cult was, at least later, associated with those of Apollo and Hygieia (*I.Beroia* 16 (C3s)). The cult of Dionysos was an ancient one (cf. the epistylon of the theatre bearing a dedication to the god, *I.Beroia* 21 (C41)); with the epithets Agrios, Erikryptos, Pseudanor it is attested only in Imperial times, but, given its archaic character, it certainly had much earlier origins (Hatzopoulos (1994*a*) 65–85). From the Hellenistic period are attested cults of Athena (*I.Beroia* 17), Ennodia (*I.Beroia* 23), Hermes (*I.Beroia* 24), Pan (*I.Beroia* 37) and Atargatis (*I.Beroia* 19). Beroia is recorded on the Argive list of contributors (IG IV 617.17 (C41)), which may be connected with the dispatching of *theoroi* (cf. Perlman (2000) 74).

The failure of the Athenians to capture Beroia in 432 (Thuc. 1.61.4) probably implies that at least part of the city, such as the acropolis situated in the western extremity, was already fortified. Traces of a C41 circuit wall made of local poros have been discovered in different parts of the modern town (Petkos (1997) 272). There were at least three gates, one of which bore the name *Εὐιαστική* (*I.Beroia* 41; cf. Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 37–41). The continuous habitation of the site from the Iron Age to the present (cf. Allamani-Souri

(1993*a*); Allamani-Souri and Apostolou (1992) 97) have left very few traces of the ancient town plan. It is presumed that the ancient agora and main road axes correspond to the modern civic centre and road system (Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 99–101). The *stadion* has been located in the eastern outskirts of the city. Epigraphic finds have permitted the location of the *gymnasion*—first attested in the Hellenistic period—in the same area south of the *stadion* (Brocas-Deflassieux (1999) 87–90). A late Classical or early Hellenistic epistylon with a dedication to Dionysos (*I.Beroia* 21) provides evidence for the functioning of the theatre in that period.

**534. Dion** (Diestes) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.10, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 4. Type: [A]. The toponym is *Δῖον*, *τό* (Thuc. 4.78.6; *Staatsverträge* 308.9), *Δεῖον* (SEG 31 630). The city-ethnic is *Διέστης* (SEG 48 785; Steph. Byz. 522.3) or *Διάστης* (Paus. 9.30.8) or *Δεῖος* (Oikonomos (1915) no. 4) or *Διεύς* (Steph. Byz. 232.5). The form *Διαῖος* attested on coins (Hatzopoulos and Psoma (1999) 10–12) has nothing to do with Makedonian Dion.

In Ps.-Skylax, the chapter about Makedonia (66) opens with *πρώτη πόλις Μακεδονίας Ἡράκλειον, Δῖον* . . . Thus, Dion is implicitly classified as a *polis* in the urban sense in C4f, and explicit references are found in later sources, both literary (Paus. 10.13.5 (rC61/C5e); cf. CID 1 1) and epigraphical (Oikonomos (1915) no. 4 (early second century AD)). Thuc. 4.78.6 calls Dion a *polisma*. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in a C2e letter of Philip V to the city (SEG 48 785). In the same letter *polites* occurs (cf. the *χῆραι πολίτιδες* in a Hellenistic catalogue of names: Pandermalis (2002) 381–82).

The territory of Classical Dion bordered on that of Leibethra to the south, Pydna to the north-east and possibly Phylakai to the north-west. We know the name of only one of its secondary settlements: Pimpleia, called *kome* by Strabo at 7 fr. 17, which was famous because of its connection with the legend of Orpheus and the cult of the Muses (Schmidt (1950)).

Dion was the religious centre of Makedonia at least from C5 and probably much earlier (cf. Diod. 17.16.3). The patron deity of Dion was Olympian Zeus, to whom the city owed its name (Just. 24.2.8) and who was venerated along with the Muses (Diod. 7.16.3). Other communal cults were those of Demeter, Dionysos, the Mother of the Gods, Aphrodite, Baubo, Orpheus, Athena, Eileithyia, Asklepios and Hermes. Sarapis and Isis are also attested from early Hellenistic times onwards (Pandermalis (1977), (1993); Hatzopoulos (1994*b*)).

106). The most important religious but also political event at Dion, and in Makedonia as a whole, was the *panegyris* of Olympia held in the month of Dios and lasting nine days (Diod. 17.16.4). Among other contests it included the *pentathlon*, the *dolichos* and the *taurotheria* (Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 129 n. 2; cf. *BE* (1978) no. 232). Dion maintained close relations with Delphi from the Archaic period (*CID* 11 (C6/C5e); cf. Paus. 10.13.5 and Mari (2002) 29–31).

From a C4m fiscal law (Hatzopoulos (1996b) ii. no. 56) and a C4l decree (*ibid.* no. 57), both unpublished, we are informed that Dion had fewer than ten *archontes* and at least two *tamiai*.

The site of Dion comprises the sanctuaries area in the open plain and the walled city to its north. The latter occupies an area of c.43 ha, which justifies the descriptions of Thuc. 4.78.6 (πόλις) and Livy 44.7.3 (*urbem non magnam*). The rectangular grid-line of the street planning, leaving an open space for the agora, is contemporary with the erection of the walls (Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1998) 216–23). These, 2.60–3.30 m wide, date from C4l and were probably built by Kassandros (after 305?). In their pre-Roman phase they had a regular rectangular perimeter of c.2,625 m and about sixty towers. Of a probable total of at least six or seven gates, four have been identified so far. One of the northern ones, leading to two consecutive courtyards, was probably the main entry to the city. The walls were built from local conglomerate stone. Above the stone substructure rose a brick superstructure of indeterminate height (Stephanidou-Tiveriou (1988)).

In the open plain several sanctuaries have been located: two *megaron*-shaped temples of Demeter adjacent to each other (in which the Mother of the Gods, Baubo and Hypolympidia Aphrodite were probably worshipped as well) date from C6l (Pingiatoglou (1996); Pandermalis (1999) 60–73); near the theatre lay the small C5 temple of Asklepios (Pandermalis (1999) 84–87); finally, the famous temple and temenos of Olympian Zeus has now been located in the south-eastern part of the sanctuaries area (Pandermalis (1999) 44–59, (2000) 291–92). Other important public buildings in the open plain are the C4e theatre, which was rebuilt in Hellenistic times (Karadedos (1986) 337–40) and the C6l *stadion* (Leake (1835) 409 and now Pandermalis (1999) 76, 80–81).

535. **Edessa** (Edessaïos) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.45, long. 22.05. Size of territory: ? Type: C. The toponym is Ἐδεσσα, ἡ (*IG* iv 617.16 (C4l); Strabo 7.7.4). The city-ethnic is Ἐδεσσαῖος (*F. Delphes* III.3 207.2 (C3m)), also spelt

Ἐδεσσῆος (Tataki (1994) no. 56). Edessa is called a *polis* in Diod. 31.8.8 (r167), probably in the political, urban and territorial senses combined. For late attestations of the urban sense, see Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.39 (cf. 17), and for the political sense, see Demitsas no. 3 (second or third century AD). The term *polisma* is attested in App. *Syr.* 57, and the term *polites* in Antoninus (1879) 227, no. 26. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *SEG* 36 615.4 (c.AD 200). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in Cormack (1973) no. 4 (second century AD) and externally in *F. Delphes* III.3 207.2 (C3m).

The territory of Edessa bordered on the region of Almopia to the north, on the territories of Kyrrhos to the east, on those of Marinia and Skydra to the south, and on the region of Eordaia to the west (Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 112).

The constitution of Edessa is known to us only from inscriptions of the Roman period (e.g. *SEG* 24 531.6 (AD 180/1)), which is also the earliest attested public enactment; Antoninus (1879) 227, no. 26). Edessaïans were granted *proxenia* by Delphi (*F. Delphes* III.3 207.2 (C3m)) and Haliartos (*IG* vii 2848.4 (C3?)), and received citizenship from Larisa (*SEG* 27 202 (220–210)). Edessa is recorded on the Argive list of contributors of C4l, which may be connected with the dispatching of *theoroi* (*IG* iv 617.16; cf. Perlman (2000) 74).

The cult of Herakles is mentioned by Hesychius, s.v. Ἐδεσσαῖος, and is attested epigraphically (Struck (1902) 310 no. 15 and, with the epithet Kynagidas, in two unpublished C2s and C1m inscriptions). From the same period date inscriptions referring to the cults of Zeus Hypsistos (P. Chrysostomou (1989–91) 30–34) and Parthenos (Hatzopoulos (1995)). Evidence for other cults is of later date.

A probably C4l (A. Chrysostomou (1988) 60, (1996) 174) wall enclosed both the acropolis (triangular perimeter, one tower on the north-west apex of the triangle and one on each of the west and north sides) and the lower city (polygonal perimeter, 2.4–3 m wide) covering an area of 3.5 and 23 ha respectively (A. Chrysostomou (1987), (1996)). The walls are mentioned by Polyæn. 2.29.2 (r274). The only public monuments known are the temple of Ma and its stoas, which are epigraphically attested (Hatzopoulos (1995) 126). The site has been occupied continuously since the Bronze Age, which accounts for the lack of Archaic and Classical remains (A. Chrysostomou (1996) 180–82); however, Livy 45.30.5 refers to Edessa as among the *urbes nobiles* of central Makedonia in 167, and it was presumably already so in the Classical period.

**536. Europos** (Europaioi) Map 50. Lat. 40.55, long. 22.35. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Εὐρωπός, ἡ* (Thuc. 2.100.3; Strabo 7.7.9; cf. Kotzias, AA 54 (1939) 257 (inscribed tiles)), *Ῥωπός* (App. Syr. 57; BCH 45 (1921) 17, III.62). The city-ethnic is *Εὐρωπαϊός* (*F.Delphes* III.4 405.3 (C3e)) or *Εὐρώπιος* (*I. Oropos* 98 (C31)). Europos is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (cf. 17) and in the political sense in two honorific decrees for Roman generals (*SEG* 41 570 (c.110), 42 575 (c.39–38)). Thuc. 2.100.3 calls Europos a *chorion*. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in *SEG* 41 570 (c.110) and externally in the C41 contribution list from Argos (*IG* IV 617.17). For the earliest individual use of the city-ethnic, see the *proxenia* decree from Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.4 405.3 (C41)).

The territory of Europos bordered on those of Pella to the south-west, Ichnai to the south-east and Gortynia to the north.

Citizens of Europos received the *proxenia* at Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.4 405.3 (C41)). A cult of Artemis Elaphebolos is attested in a C3 inscription (*SEG* 43 399). The Europaioi are recorded in the Argive list of contributors of C41, which may be connected with the dispatching of *theoroi* (*IG* IV 617.17; cf. Perlman (2000) 74).

Europos was most probably a walled city in 429, since Sitalkes besieged it but was unable to capture it (Thuc. 2.100.3). Of its public buildings we know only of an aqueduct mentioned in an inscription of Imperial times (*SEG* 38 608). Ongoing excavations aim to delimit the settlement; sporadic finds, such as an unpublished late Archaic *kouros* (Savvopoulou (1988) 137), testify to Europos' importance as a trading centre of the Axios valley.

**537. Herakleion** (Herakleioi) Map 50. Lat. 40.00, long. 22.40. Size of territory: 3. Type: A. The toponym is *Ἡράκλειον, τό* (Damastes (*FGrHist* 5) fr. 4.3; Ps.-Skylax 66; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 77.v.21 (*Ἐράκλειον*)), *Ἡράκλεια, ἡ* (Steph. Byz. 304.3). The city-ethnic is *Ἡρακλειώτης* (*Gonnoi* 93). Herakleion is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Ps.-Skylax 66. The collective use of the ethnic is attested externally in *Gonnoi* 93B.24 (C31)).

The territory of Herakleion bordered on that of Gonnoi to the south-west (see the dossier in *Gonnoi* 93–107), Leibethra on the north and possibly Homolion, beyond the Peneios, before the foundation of Phila on the mouth of that river in Hellenistic times.

Herakleion became a member of the Delian League some time between 430/29 and 425/4 or, at least, the Athenians claimed its membership and had it assessed for a tribute of

1,000 drachmas (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 71.IV.108, completely restored; 77.v.21).

Herakleion appears as a walled city in 169 (Polyb. 28.11.1; Livy 44.9.1–9), but its fortifications most probably date from C5, since the city could successfully challenge the authority of Perdikkas II and remain a member of the Delian League for years. Presumably, the walls covered the entire hill, since Heuzey (1860) 92–93 saw remains of them at the bottom of the hill, near the river bank.

**538. Ichnai** (Ichnaios) Map 50. Lat. 40.45, long. 22.35. (On the location of Ichnai on the right bank of the Axios, see Hatzopoulos (2001) 159–60.) Size of territory: ? Type: A. The toponym is *Ἰχναί, αἱ* (Hdt. 7.123.3; BCH 45 (1921) 17.III.63), *Ἰχναί* (Eratosthenes according to Steph. Byz. 342.17, but probably referring to the Thessalian Ichnai; cf. Steph. Byz. 152.16). The city-ethnic is *Ἰχναῖος* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 8944 (undated)). Ichnai is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Hdt. 7.123.3 and in the political sense in a treaty(?) between that city and Dikaia(?) (Struck (1902) 310 no. 15.2 (undated)). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins of C5e (*infra*) and in inscriptions (Struck (1902) 309 no. 14.6 and 310 no. 15.2). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested in a Delphic C3m *proxeny* decree (*F.Delphes* III.3 207.3 (C3m)) and in an undated Attic sepulchral inscription (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 8944).

The name of the territory of Ichnai might be *Ἰχναίων χώρα* (Hsch. s.v. *Ἰχναίαν*, unless the reference is to the homonymous Thessalian city). It bordered on the territories of Pella to the south-west, Allante to the south, Tyrissa to the north-west, and probably Herakleia in Mygdonia to the east, across the Axios. The probable site of the urban centre has been totally destroyed by intense agricultural activity (*ArchDelt* 49 (1994) *Chron.* 455).

Two fragments of an inscription of unknown date might belong to a treaty between Ichnai and Dikaia (Papazoglou (1988) 155–56). A citizen of Ichnai was awarded *proxenia* by Delphi (*F.Delphes* III.3 207.3 (C3m)); another Ichnaian was appointed *theorodokos* for *theoroi* arriving from the same city (BCH 45 (1921) 17.III.63 (c.220)).

Judging by the onomastic evidence, Ichnai must have been originally a Paionian settlement which already in Archaic times received an influx of Southern Greek colonists. After the Makedonian conquest, settlers from the Old Kingdom were added to its population (cf. Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 107 n. 1). It seems that citizens of Ichnai, in their turn, participated in the Makedonian colonisation of Amphipolis (Hatzopoulos (1991) 86).



Before the Makedonian conquest, Ichnai struck silver staters and octadrachms (c.490–480). Types: *obv.* male figure, usually between two bulls, or beside a horse; *rev.* wheel, or cross in an incuse square; legend: [IX]NAI[ON], IXNAI, IXNAON, IXNAION (Gaebler (1935) 63–65; Price and Waggoner (1975) 29–30, 117; Papazoglou (1988) 155; SNG Cop. Macedonia 183–84).

**539. Kyrrhos** (Kyrrhestes) Map 50. Lat. 40.50, long. 22.15. Size of territory: 4? Type: B. The toponym is *Κύρρος*, ἡ (Thuc. 2.100.4; Steph. Byz. 430.17; Vavritsas (1977) 8), *Κύρρος* (Diod. 18.4.5, MSS, apparently a mistake), *Κύριος* (in the MS of Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36; cf. the form *Scurio* (*It. Burd.* 606.3)). The city-ethnic is *Κυρρέστης* (SEG 40 520; Plin. *HN* 4.34: *Cyrrestae*, cf. SEG 27 258 (Roman)) or *Κυρραῖος* (SEG 43 435.3 (early third century AD)). The only attestations of Kyrrhos as a *polis* (in the urban sense) are Plin. *HN* 4.34 and Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (cf. 17), but its mention alongside Dion and Amphipolis in Alexander's *Ῥπομνήματα* (*infra*) leaves no doubt that Kyrrhos too was a *polis* already in C4. The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on a second century AD boundary stone (SEG 40 520). For the individual and external use of the city-ethnic, see SEG 43 435 (early third century AD).

The territory of Kyrrhos bordered on the territories of Edessa to the west, Skydra to the south-west, Pella to the south-east, Tyrissa to the east, and Europos to the north-east. An unpublished C3 decree (cf. Vavritsas (1977)) reveals that Genderrhos was a *kome* of Kyrrhos. The name of another *meros* (*kome*?) of the city, Mandarai, is preserved in Steph. Byz. 430.17.

The earliest public enactment of Kyrrhos is an unpublished C3 decree concerning public works in the vicinity and in the agora of the city (Vavritsas (1977)).

Kyrrhos was renowned for its sanctuary of Athena Kyrrhestis, which was located on the hill of Palaiokastron (Vavritsas (1977)). It would be tempting to interpret the mass of semi-worked limestone blocks in a nearby C4s quarry (Bakalakis (1970)) as preliminary work for the *ναὸς πολυτελής* of Athena which Alexander was planning to build in Kyrrhos (Diod. 18.4.5); two C4l/C3e poros capitals—probably of a temple—may attest a later attempt to implement Alexander's plan (Haddad (1993); Adam-Veleni (1998) 6). The sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera is known from dedications of the Roman period (Panayotou and Chrysostomou (1993) 379–80). The agora of the city is mentioned several times in the C3 unpublished decree (Vavritsas (1977) 8; Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 438–39).

The patron deity of Kyrrhos was Athena, for whom Alexander was planning to build a magnificent temple at the time of his death (Diod. 18.4.5). The cult of Athena Kyrrhestis, which is also attested epigraphically (SEG 27 258 (Roman)), was transferred to the homonymous city in Syria. Other communal cults were those of Artemis Agrotera (attested by Roman evidence: SEG 30 553–54, 35 750, 43 404–5) and of Zeus Hypsistos (P. Chrysostomou (1989–91) 40–41).

**540. Leibethra** (Leibethrios) Map 50. Lat. 40.50, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 3. Type: C. The toponym is *Λεῖβηθρα*, τὰ (Aesch. fr. 83a.9; BCH 45 (1921) 17 III.53) or *Λεῖβηθρον* (Strabo 10.3.17) or *Λίβηθρα* (Paus. 9.30.9). The city-ethnic is *Λεῖβηθριος* (Arist. fr. 552; *Gonnoi* 2.6) or *Λιβήθριος* (Paus. 9.30.11).

Leibethra is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Paus. 9.30.9, referring to the mythical period. The term *patris* is used in *Orph. Argonaut.* 1374. Alternative site-classifications are *ethnos* (Arist. fr. 552), *chorion* or *oros* (Strabo 10.3.17), *topos* (Hsch., s.v. *λεῖβηθρον*) and *σκοπιή* (Lyc. *Alex.* 275). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on an inscribed weight of one mina (SEG 27 283 (undated)) and externally in Arist. fr. 563 and in a C3e decree from Gonnoi (*Gonnoi* 2.6).

Originally populated by Thracian Pieres, Leibethra and this part of Pieria were conquered by the Makedonians c.C7 (Strabo 10.3.17; cf. Hammond (1972) 417).

According to the legend mentioned by Pausanias (9.30.11), the city was destroyed by the river Sys. The topography of the site and the remains of the walls make such a "destruction" by the four torrents in the area quite possible (Kotzias (1948–49) 33–34), although the continued existence of the city is secured by Classical (Pritchett (1991) 127) and Hellenistic (Kotzias (1948–49) 34) remains, by the mention of the city in the C3 inscription from Gonnoi (*Gonnoi* 2.6) and by the C3l Delphic list of *theorodokoi* (BCH 45 (1921) 17 III.53).

The territory of Leibethra probably extended from the mountainous area of Lower Olympos to the valley of Sys (Helly (1973) 35–36; *Gonnoi* 5). The city bordered on Gonnoi to the south-west, presumably on Herakleion to the south, and Dion to the north.

The cults of Orpheus, the Nymphs, the Muses and Dionysos are attested in literary sources (Kotzias (1948–49) 26–28). The cult of the latter deity has now found a possible archaeological confirmation (SEG 27 283).

The legend of the city's destruction mentions the existence of walls (Paus. 9.30.11). Kotzias ((1948–49) 33–34), who

excavated the site, discovered part of a circuit of 1.5 m-wide walls. According to Pritchett ((1991) 127), the circuit was no more than 500 m long. Recent work has confirmed that the acropolis (1.5 ha) was walled and that the site was not abandoned until C1 (*ArchDelt* 50 (1995) *Chron.* 497–98).

**541. Methone** (Methonaios) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.30, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 3? Type: A. The toponym is *Μεθώνη*, ἡ (Thuc. 6.7.3; *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 130), *Μεθώνα* (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 94.1b.8). The city-ethnic is *Μεθωναῖος* (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 61; Thuc. 4.129.4; Arist. *frr.* 551–52). Methone is called a *polis* both in the urban sense (Dem. 9.26; Ps.-Skylax 66) and in the political sense (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 61.44–45; Plut. *Mor.* 293B, probably derived from Aristotle's treatise). In Din. 1.14 *polis* is used in both senses simultaneously. The *politai* of Methone are mentioned in Diod. 16.34.5 (r354), and there was an Aristotelian *Methonaion politeia* (*frr.* 551–52). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in abbreviated form on coins (*infra*) and externally in *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 61.1. For the individual and external use of the city-ethnic, see e.g. *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 9330 (C51).

According to Thuc. 6.7.3, Methone bordered on Makedonia (τῇν ὁμορον Μακεδονίᾳ), and its territory (τῆς χώρας τῆς Μεθ[ο]ναίων) is mentioned in *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 61.22. The territory of Classical Methone bordered on that of Pydna to the south and Aloros to the north-west. The size of the territory must have been close to 100 km<sup>2</sup>, perhaps a little more. After 354 it must have been added to that of Pydna (Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 181).

Methone was originally a Thracian settlement. It was colonised by Eretrians c.730 (Hammond (1972) 425–26) and joined the Delian League after 431 (for the date and the erroneous restoration of the ethnic in *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 280.11.67, see Piérart (1988)). It belonged to the Thracian district and is registered in the tribute lists from 430/29 (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 281.11.33, restored) to 415/14 (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 290.111.8) a total of three times, paying a *phoros* of 3 tal. (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 282.11.53). It was assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 71.111.157 (5 tal.), ethnic completely restored).

In 364 or 363 it was captured by the Athenian Timotheos (Din. 1.14 = 3.17) and became an ally of Athens but probably without becoming a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (Dreher (1995) 26). Methone was conquered and destroyed by Philip II in 354 (Dem. 4.4; Diod. 16.31.6 and 34.4–5). The inhabitants were allowed to leave the city with one garment each; the city itself was razed to the ground, and its territory distributed to Makedonian settlers. A few decades later, old Methone was succeeded by a new settlement 1 km to the north-west of the former city, which, however, did not enjoy the status of *polis* but was probably a

*kome* of Pydna (Hatzopoulos *et al.* (1990); for the origin of the new settlers, see Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 180–81).

Our only information about the constitutional arrangements of Methone concerns its magistrates, the *archontes* and the *polemarchos* mentioned in Arist. *fr.* 551. A Methonaian *theorodokos* hosted the *theoroi* from Epidauros (no. 348) (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 94.b.8) c.360. Another Methonaian is known to have been granted citizenship in Ephesos (*I.Ephesos* 48 (C41)).

Methone was a walled city in 354 (Dem. 1.9; Theopomp. *fr.* 52; Polyæn. 4.2.15; Just. *Epit.* 7.6.14). No remains of the walls are visible today.

Methone struck only one type of bronze coinage in C4f. Types: *obv.* female head to the r.; *rev.* lion breaking spear; legend: *ΜΕΘΩ* (Gaebler (1935) 78–79; Psoma (2001) 115).

**542. Mieza** (Miezaios/Miezeus) Map 50. Lat. 40.40, long. 22.05. Size of territory: ? Type: B. The toponym is *Μίεζα*, ἡ (Plut. *Alex.* 7.4), *Μέζα* (*BCH* 45 (1921) 17, 111.59), *Μύεζα* (in the MS of Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36); the alternative name *Στρυμόνιον* given by Steph. Byz. 452.1 (perhaps quoting Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) *fr.* 7) is probably an epithet. The city-ethnic is *Μιεζαῖος* (Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) *fr.* 7), later spelt *Μιεζέος* (*I.Leukopetra* 71.8–9), or *Μιεζεύς* (Arr. *Ind.* 18.6 (r325)).

Mieza is called a *polis* in the urban sense by Steph. Byz. 452.1, possibly quoting Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) *fr.* 7 (C3); cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 3.12.36 (cf. 17). For the individual use of the city-ethnic, see Arr. *Ind.* 18.6.

The territory of Mieza is called *Μιεζέοι τόποι* in *I.Leukopetra* 71.8–9; we know the names of two settlements that were probably its *komai*, Gaimeion and Nea [---] (*SEG* 24 524 (C3)). It bordered on the territory of Beroia to the south, Marinia to the north-west, and Skydra to the north-east.

Among the magistrates, the eponymous priest of Asklepios, the *epistates*, *tagoi* and *dikastai* are attested in the Hellenistic period (*SEG* 24 524 (C2f)), and at least the priest of Asklepios and the *epistates* are likely to have existed since C4 (Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 156). The cults of Asklepios (*SEG* 24 524 (C2f)), the Nymphs (Plut. *Alex.* 7.4), Artemis (*SEG* 24 525–26), Herakles Kallinikos (Demitsas (1896) no. 18) and the river god Olganos (Kallipolitis (1952)) are attested in Mieza.

Although the archaeological complex of Leukadia–Kopanos–Naoussa was well known from the nineteenth century, only most recently have excavations started at the very site of the ancient city (Rhomipoulou (1997)). A large

(over 106 m long) C4 stoa, which might form part of a Asklepion complex, has come to light (Allamani-Souri and Misaelidou (1992) 203–12; Allamani-Souri et al. (2002)). Moreover, the school that Aristotle founded in Mieza (Plut. *Alex.* 7.4) is almost certainly to be identified with the building complex at Isvoris, to the south-west of the civic centre, where three caves are joined by elaborate *peripatoi*, niches, stoas and staircases (Siganidou and Trochides (1990), with earlier refs.).

**543. Pella** (Pellaios) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.45, long. 22.30. Size of territory: 4 (P. Chrysostomou (1990) 223). Type: A. The toponym is Πέλλα, ἡ (Hdt. 7.123.3; Thuc. 2.99.4; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 267A.4), earlier (or as an epithet?) Βούνομος or Βουνόμεια (Steph. Byz. 515.7–8). The city-ethnic is Πελλαῖος (Arvanitopoulos (1909) no. 16; Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.3). The alternative forms Πελληναῖος of Plut. *Mor.* 339B and Πελληνός of Steph. Byz. 515.9–10 are otherwise unknown. Pella is called a *polis* in the urban sense in Hdt. 7.123.3 and Ps.-Skylax 66. At Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13, *μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίας πόλεων* is used about Pella both in the personal-political and in the urban sense. The earliest attestation of *polis* in a purely political sense is in the *asylia* decree for Kos (SEG 12 374.9 (243)). In a verse dedication of Queen Eurydika, wife of Amyntas II, *πολίτις* is used about the female citizens, presumably of Pella (Plut. *Mor.* 14B with BE (1984) 249). Pella is called a *polisma* in App. *Syr.* 57 and a *metropolis* in Strabo 16.2.10. Ps.-Skylax 66 writes: *πόλις καὶ βασιλείον ἐν αὐτῇ* (C4m). *πατρίς* is used about Pella in a C4s epigram from Delphi (SEG 18 222a), in AG 7.139 (C1) and in Strabo 16.2.10. Demosthenes' description of Pella as a *χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ* . . . καὶ μικρῷ (18.68 (rC4e)) is clearly a rhetorical distortion (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in the C2f coinage of the city (Gaebler (1935) 93–97) and externally in the *asylia* decree for Kos (SEG 12 374 (243)). For the individual use of the city-ethnic, see Arr. *Ind.* 18.3 (r325), and Arvanitopoulos (1909) no. 16 (C3e).

Pella's extensive territory, Πελλαία (Strabo 7 fr. 20), bordered on the territories of Allante to the south-east, Ichnai to the east, Tyrissa to the north, and Kyrrhos to the north-west and to the west. We know the sites of five secondary settlements, at Archontikon, Damianon B, Agrosykia, Leptokarya B and Ag. Nikolaos (Krya Vrysi), and two suburbs, one to the north-west and one to the west of the city (P. Chrysostomou (1990); Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 111–12).

Pella, originally a Paionian settlement, received an important Ionian influx from early Archaic times. It became a member of the Chalkidian Federation for a brief period in

the 380s (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.13). The transfer of the royal residence to the city in the reign of Amyntas III was accompanied by a significant Makedonian migration which transformed the character of the city, as the onomastics and the archaeological remains show (Hammond and Griffith (1979) 56; Hatzopoulos (1996b) i. 171–73).

There is no evidence for the Classical constitution of Pella; in C3 there is evidence of an *archon*, an *epistates* (SEG 48 818), a *boule* and a *demos* (SEG 48 817) as well as *tamiai* (SEG 12 374). In C4s (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 267; SEG 18 222a) and in C3m (*F. Delphes* III.3 207.2) several citizens of Pella received the *proxenia* of Delphi.

The patron divinity of Pella was Athena Alkidemos (Livy 42.51.2; cf. Gaebler (1935) 93–97). Among other cults, those of Apollo, Artemis, Asklepios, Dionysos, Zeus Meilichios, Herakles Kynagidas, Herakles Phylakos, the Muses and Pan are attested from epigraphic, literary and archaeological sources (SEG 24 540; Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou (1971) 38–51; P. Chrysostomou (1989) 105–6). Moreover, the C4l sanctuaries of the Mother of the Gods, of Demeter and of Darron have been uncovered in or near the city (Lilimpaki-Akamati (1987), (1990), (1991), (1996), (2000), (2002)). For none of the cults do we have evidence from the Classical period. A Pellaian *theorodokos* was appointed to host *theoroi* from Nemea (SEG 36 331.B.23–24 (323–317); for the identification of the *theorodokos*, see Knoepfler (2001) 187–90). A citizen of Pella was victorious in the Isthmian and Pythian Games (SEG 18 222a (C4s)).

Pella was the largest city of Makedonia; for a general description, see Lilimpaki-Akamati (2002). The rectangular C4s wall is of mudbrick upon a stone foundation and predates the C4l grid plan of the town (Siganidou (1987a)). The city had two citadels. The acropolis, situated on the northern hill and covering an area of 6 ha, is entirely occupied by the palatial complex. At the southern end of the city the islet Phakos in Lake Loudiake, which was connected with the mainland via a drawbridge, qualified as an *ἄκρα* and housed the central Makedonian treasury (Strabo 7 fr. 20). The city was built on a regular Hippodamian grid line with two main north–south roads and one west–east road crossing them in the agora area (Siganidou (1990)). The 200 × 182 m-wide agora is surrounded by stoas: the north one probably housed the seat of the politarchs, while on the north-west side of the agora probably lay the city archive; along with the building complex around it, the agora covers an area of ten blocks in the centre of the city (Akamatis (1999)). The palace of the Makedonian kings (central complex C4f) covers the entire acropolis area (6 ha) north of the agora. It consists of

three building complexes, along an east–west axis. Each building complex is composed of two buildings, one to the south, towards the city, and one to the north. All three southern buildings have a large peristyle court. The northern buildings of the west and central complex have bathing facilities. A long *stoa* of more than 153 m with a 15 m-wide propylon forms the southern façade of the central and east complex facing the city (Siganidou (1987b), (1996); Ginouvès (1994) 88–91; P. Chrysostomou (1996)). Other public buildings uncovered are a large C4l tholos, probably a *heroon* of Herakles and used as *bouleuterion* by the Makedonian Council (Hadzisteliou-Price (1973)) and the sanctuaries of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite in the agora area, of Demeter in the south-east quarter of the city, and of Darron in the south-west quarter (Lilimbaki-Akamati (1987), (1990), (1991), (1996), (2000)). A theatre is mentioned by Plutarch in a C4s context (*Mor.* 1096B).

**544. Pydna** (Pydnaïos) Maps 49–50. Lat. 40.25, long. 22.35. Size of territory: 3 or 4. Type: A. The toponym is Πύδνα, ἡ (Thuc. 1.61.2; *Gonnoi* 98.7), Πύτνα (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 329.13 = *Staatsverträge* 403), Κύδνα, which is considered to be the authentic form of the name (Theagenes (*FGrHist* 774) fr. 5 = Steph. Byz. 390.8–10). The city-ethnic is Πυδναίος (Dem. 1.5; Hatzopoulos (1996b) ii. no. 55), Πυνδναίος, Πυδδναίος (only on coins: Tselekas (1996) 14); Πυτναίος (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 339.b.3). Pydna is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Ps.-Skylax 66 and is listed as a *polis* in the urban and political senses simultaneously at Din. 1.14 = 3.17. The term *asty* is attested in Polyæn. 4.11.3 (r317), and the term *polichnion* in a *scholion* on Arist. *Rh.* 1411<sup>a</sup>9. The earliest epigraphical attestation of the πόλις Πυδναίων is in an honorific decree of c.169 (Hatzopoulos (1996b) ii. no. 55). The collective use of the city-ethnic is attested internally on coins (*infra*) and externally perhaps on a fragmentary *asylia* decree (*SEG* 12 374.16 (243)). The individual use of the city-ethnic is attested internally in an honorific decree (Hatzopoulos (1996b) ii. no. 55.2 (c.169)) and externally in a C4s Athenian proxeny decree (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 339.b.3 (333)).

The territory of Classical Pydna bordered on that of Methone to the north and of Dion to the south, and may have covered over 200 km<sup>2</sup>.

As the recent excavations have shown, Pydna was not a colonial foundation but a Makedonian settlement (Bessios and Pappa (1996) 5). Already in the reign of Alexander I it

belonged to the Makedonian kingdom (Thuc. 1.137.1). In 432 it was unsuccessfully besieged by the Athenians (Thuc. 1.61). In 410 it rebelled against King Archelaos and seceded from the kingdom, but it was besieged again, and captured after a long siege. Its inhabitants were transferred some 4 km inland, perhaps to modern Kitros (Diod. 13.49.2). Apparently the old site was reoccupied already in C4e (Bessios (1990) 241), and in the reign of Amyntas III Pydna seems for a time to have again successfully seceded from the kingdom, since it struck its own coins; but in the reign of Alexander II, at the latest, it seems to have returned to the fold of the kingdom (Hatzopoulos (1985) 253 n. 66; for a different interpretation of the numismatic evidence, see Tselekas (1996) 19–24). In 364 or 363 it was captured by Timotheos (Din. 1.14 = 3.17; for the date see Diod. 15.81.6) and became an ally of Athens, but probably without becoming a member of the Second Athenian Naval League (Dreher (1995) 26). In 357 it was besieged and captured by Philip II (Dem. 1.9; Diod. 16.8.3), presumably by being betrayed to the Makedonians (Dem. 20.63, see Hammond and Griffith (1979) 242–44); it thereafter remained an integral part of the Makedonian kingdom.

Only two temples are attested in the Classical period: that of Athena (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 329.13 = *Staatsverträge* 403 (336)) and that posthumously erected in honour of Amyntas III (Habicht (1970) 11–12). Pydnaian *theorodokoi* received *theoroi* from Epidauros c.360 (*IG* 14<sup>2</sup> 94 1.b.7).

Pydna was a walled city at least from 432 (Thuc. 1.61.3, implicitly; cf. Diod. 19.49.1 (r317)), but probably already in C5e (Bessios and Pappa (1996) 5–6). Traces of the walls were seen by Hammond ((1984) 377). The area enclosed by the walls was c.25 ha, making Pydna one of the largest Makedonian cities in C5e, undoubtedly because of the importance of its harbour (Bessios and Pappa (1996) 6).

Pydna struck bronze coins in C4f. (1) During the reign of Amyntas III, types: *obv.* head of young Herakles wearing lion skin to the r.; *rev.* eagle with closed wings to the r. devouring serpent which it holds with its talons; legend: ΠΥΔΝΑΙΩΝ or ΠΥΝΑΝΑΙΩΝ and once ΠΥΔΑΝΑΙΩΝ. (2) C.364–357: *obv.* female head facing l. or r., wearing ear-ring and necklace, her hair in a sphendone; *rev.* owl to the r., standing on olive branch; legend: ΠΥΔΝΑΙΩΝ (Gaebler (1935) 105–6; Tselekas (1996) 14, 26–30; *SNG Cop. Macedonia* 317).

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